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A POLEMICAL WORK AGAINST KARAITE AND OTHER SECTARIES

By JACOB MANN, Baltimore Hebrew College.

ONE of the foremost tasks of Jewish scholarship at present is the publication of the entire literary remains brought to light from the Cairo Genizah. Every branch of Jewish science is amply represented in these remarkable The early Karaite writings form no exception. The highly important community of Fustat must have had a Karaite section prominent both in numbers and in culture.1 Thus works of the first period of the sect were preserved by its followers residing in that city. The end of the ninth century closes, as far as literature goes, the first period of Karaism. Almost all the contemporary writers composed their works in Hebrew, whereas in the tenth and eleventh centuries Arabic became the chief mode of expression for Karaite literateurs.2 The productions of these early Karaites, succeeding 'Anan, are only scantily known. The repudiation of Rabbinism and the erecting of a new structure of legalism on the Bible text must have given ample opportunities for literary activity. The ardour of the partisan undoubtedly engendered many a pointed polemical work. The few writings of this period, hitherto

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¹ See now Mann, The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs, 1920, vol. I, pp. 140-1, 177.

² Cp. Poznański in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, VII (1914), 662 ff. See also Steinschneider, Arab. Liter. der Juden, § 37. 123

known or heard of, cannot be taken as the complete literary effort of a sect in Israel already in existence for about a century and a half.

Any new addition to this early literature is of importance for a fuller understanding of the development of the sect. Fragments of early Karaite works, emanating from the Genizah, are the more welcome as they are free from the suspicion of having been tampered with by a modern Karaite—pace Firkowicz—ad gloriam Karaismi.

Of the Hebrew Genizah fragments, to be edited in this and in the subsequent papers, the first only is an early anti-sectarian polemical work, while the rest are by Karaite writers. They have all (except one) in common a polemical tendency, more or less pronounced. They are all anonymous, as in each case the beginning and the end are missing. The details of Karaite Bible exegesis, legalism, and theology, as they occur in the manuscripts, are fully discussed in the introductory remarks as well as in the foot-notes. Possible identifications of the authors of some of the fragments are indicated in due place. But it is best not to dogmatize in a branch of literature only partially known.

Finally, it is my pleasant duty to express my thanks to the staff of the Cambridge University Library, for their kind assistance in my work. I am also under a debt of gratitude to Mr. Elkan Adler for his kind permission to use his valuable manuscripts for the purpose of publication.

Fragment A, belonging to the Taylor-Schechter Collection at Cambridge (T.-S. 8 K 202), consists of two detached

quires, each consisting of two joined leaves, paper, square writing, size 17.6 x 14 cm. Though the handwriting is not of an early date, probably of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, the subject-matter is evidently old. The manuscript is very likely a copy made from an earlier work.

The four continuous leaves of the fragment contain a few dark passages which I have been unable to illumine. But this very fact justifies at the same time the publication of the manuscript in the hope that some readers will contribute to its elucidation.

We have before us a part of a polemical treatise by a Rabbanite Jew directed against Karaite and other sectaries. Our author accuses these of eclecticism, borrowing alike from Samaritans, Christians, Muhammedans, and Brahmans. He is conversant with the Christological inferences from the Bible as to Jesus and his church. These he cites in an effectively sarcastic manner. Unlike the original Samaritans, the Kutim, who only adopted Judaism on account of the lions that wrought destruction among them, the Christians ('Nazarenes'), he argues, honestly desired to join Judaism, but were misled by their spiritual guides into assuming that they were 'the new Israel', possessing 'the new Torah and the new covenant', and endowed with 'the new spirit and heart' as foretold by the prophets.3 Our author is therefore very indignant with 'our brethren, our teachers, rebellious and (like pricking) thorns',4 who put forward the claim of Christianity having superseded Judaism, and the believers in Jesus having become God's chosen people.⁵ He continues to prove from the Bible that

³ Fol. 2, r., ll. 7 ff. ⁴ Fol. 2, v., l. 1.

⁶ Cp. Diestel, Geschichte des A. T. in der christlichen Kirche (1869). The Christians may apply to themselves the Old Testament, with all its graces

only the lineal descendants of Jacob are to be in possession of God's Torah.⁶ Our author alludes to the churches with their images and paintings picturing Jesus' life-story from his birth to his end.⁷ In general, the familiar details about the founder of Christianity, as found in the other תולדות ישו,⁸ recur in our fragment.⁹

Those that put forward the above claims of Christianity encroach upon Israel's heritage as 'the chosen people'. The author condemns their action as worse than that of the Samaritans or of the Jewish instructors of Muhammed. Here interesting details are given concerning the early career of the founder of Islām, and the help he received from Jewish scholars in promulgating his teachings. Some of these details I could not verify from other sources. I trust that readers with a more intimate knowledge of early Muhammedan tradition will elucidate these points.

Our author maintains that Jewish scholars had the chief share in the building up of Muhammed's new faith. They purposely shaped it in such a manner as never to allow the claim to arise of its having ousted and displaced Judaism. The author speaks here, of course, from the point of view shared by many Jews living in Muslim countries. It is appropriate to quote here the well-known renegade Samuel ibn Yaḥya al-Magribi (adopted Islām in 1163), who describes what the Jews (in truth some of them) think about and promises, because they are the true Israel—a sentence which had been proved by the older Fathers, and was regarded as axiomatic by the later ones (p. 42). The real true law is that which Isaiah (51.4,5) and Jeremiah (31.31,32) have prophesied, and which is accomplished in the New Testament (pp. 43, 44).

⁶ Fols. 2b, r. and v., 2c, r. ⁷ Fol. 2c, v., ll. 3 ff.

⁸ Cp. Krauss, Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen, 1902.

⁹ Fol. 2 c, r., ll. 16 ff. ¹⁰ Fol. 2, v., ll. 12 ff.

¹¹ Cp. fol. 2 a, r., ll. 6, 7.

this religion.¹² Muhammed was, according to them, a merchant who saw in a dream that he would once come to rule. On his business travels he met Jewish scholars who predicted his future. They gave him as a companion 'Abdallāh b. Salām, by whom Muhammed was initiated into the knowledge of the Torah. 'Abdallāh made Muhammed proclaim that a husband may re-marry his divorced wife only in case she had meanwhile become another man's wife and was divorced from him. According to the opinion of the Jews, 'Abdallāh did this in order that the children of the Muslims should be illegitimate—which they actually were according to Jewish law.

But far from repeating popular gossip, our author mentions several genuine traditions about Muhammed. remarks, therefore, deserve attention. Let us first state in the author's own words what he reports about Muhammed. 'Had they (the Christians) only acted as did to us our enemies whom Esar-haddon brought up from Cuta (i.e. the Samaritans) and as those who succeeded them did to the shepherd in the well-known place on New Mount. His (Muhammed's) dealings were with the monk who lived in the place called Balkin (the Balka), (and) on the pillar, known as the Sign of Heaven, (he dealt) with the ten elders, (viz.) Abraham, called Ka'b al-Ahbār; Absalom, called 'Abdallāh b. Salām; Jacob, called 'Amr the Witness; John, called "He that has been routed into the garden", and their companions every one by name and surname. These came to him (Muhammed) and composed for him the "Sign of Disgrace" (i.e. the Kurān), each of them inserting (therein) his name. So it is written in דוף בין

¹² See Schreiner, Monatsschrift, XLII, 221.

the Cow (i.e. the second Sura). In this manner did the scholars of Israel counsel in order to silence the Wicked, all this being a cause of saving God's people that he (Muhammed?) might not harm them by his devices.' 13

We adjoin here a running commentary on this remarkable and interesting passage, using the Muhammedan traditions chiefly as collected by Sprenger.14 It is known that in his earliest youth Muhammed had to gain a livelihood as a shepherd, since the small fortune which he had inherited from his father could not last long. He fed the goats and the sheep of the Meccans, an occupation which among the Bedouins was assigned only to slaves and servants.¹⁵ But when Muhammed began to visit the cave on Mount Hira, where he is supposed to have had the first revelation, he was no longer a shepherd. He was already married to Hadiga, having previously been in her employ for some years as a merchant.¹⁶ Our author evidently refers to Mount Hirā which, for some unknown reason, he calls New Mount. Perhaps this is due to the fact that Muhammed changed the name of the mount into Jabal al-nur. Mount of Light.¹⁷

The monk, mentioned in the fragment, is undoubtedly the Rāhib Baḥira whom Muhammed is supposed to have met on one of his travels in Shām and from whom he received recognition as the future prophet. According to one tradition this monk lived in Mayfa'a in the Balka (in Moabitis), while according to another Baḥira resided in the village of Kofayr, six miles from Bocra. So far

¹⁸ Fols. 2, v., ll. 12-18, and 2a, r., ll. 1-7.

¹⁴ Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad.

our author is well versed in the tradition as to the place of meeting of Baḥira and Muhammed. But what is the meaning of 'the pillar known as "the Sign of Heaven"'? Is there a confusion of Baḥira with the famous Joshua the Stylite, who derived his name from his determination to spend the rest of his days on a column $(\sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \lambda \eta, \gamma)$? But more likely we have here a detail of early Muhammedan tradition which, however, I could not verify.

Our author knows, moreover, of ten Jewish scholars who joined Muhammed. As far as known to me, the Hebrew names of three of them are given here for the first time. 19 The Muhammedan tradition, as collected by Sprenger, 20 knows only of the following adherents of Islām, 'Abdallāh b. Salām, Yāmyn b. Yāmyn, Wahb b. Munabbih, Ka'b al-Aḥbār, Ibn Tayyahān, and Baḥira the Rāhib. About the last it needs only to be added that, according to one report, he was formerly a Jew with the name of Georgios or On his conversion he assumed the name of Georgios or Sergis. The other persons mentioned were not all

¹⁹ Since this paper was written B. Chapira (RÉJ., LXIX, (1919), p. 91, note 1) refers to a Genizah fragment in the possession of Mr. Adler, which bears the title, 'History of Muhammed's Companions: Appendix to the Book of Chronicles,' and wherein we have a similar account to the effect that a certain number of Jewish scholars, among them Absalom, surnamed Abd as-Salām, and Abraham, called Ka'b al-Ahbār, accepted Islām from Muhammed in order to avert dangers threatening the Jews. They composed the Kurān for him, each of them adding his name in a Sura (ארס פורה פור מורה מור של פורה מור בי מורה מור בי מורה מור בי מורה מור בי מור בי מורה בי מורה מור בי מו

²⁰ I, 45 ff.

²¹ See Weil, Mohammed der Prophet, 29, note 1. For the Christian Bahira

Muhammed's contemporaries. 'Abdallāh b. Salām is supposed to have joined the prophet immediately after the Hegira, giving him the benefit of his Jewish knowledge.²² In Muhammedan tradition 'Abdallāh has become the typical representative of that group of Jewish scribes who honoured truth, and admitted that Muhammed was the prophet predicted in the Taurāt (Torah).²³ According to our fragment his Jewish name was Absalom. Yāmyn b. Yāmyn was also a personal friend and follower of the prophet. Probably he is included in the number of the ten scholars mentioned in our fragment.

On the other hand, Ka'b al-Aḥbār, a Jew of the Himyar, knew not Muhammed. In the reign of Abū-Beķr he came to Medina and became a convert to Islām. On account of his great learning (styled al-Aḥbar, החבר), he became one of the church fathers of the new religion. His Jewish name was Abū-Isḥaķ (= Abraham, as in our fragment) b. Mātii.²⁴ Wahb b. Munabbih was younger than Ka'b, but just as important in the capacity of a church father of Islām. It is, however, doubtful whether he was originally a Jew.²⁵ Finally, Ibn Tayyahān, a Syrian Jew living in Medina, is supposed to have predicted Muhammed's prophecy and to have observed the five daily prayers. He died before the appearance of the prophet.²⁶ According to Ibn Śa'ad his name was Abū-'Omayr Ibn Tayyahān.

legend, see Gottheil, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, XIV, 214 ff. Cp. also Steinschneider, Arabische Literatur der Juden, § 12.

²² Sprenger, I, 54; cp. Steinschneider, l. c., § 11.

²⁸ See Horovitz, Houtsma's Encyclopaedia of Islām, I, 30, 31.

²⁴ Steinschneider, l. c., § 13.

²⁵ Steinschneider, l. c., § 14. See further Huart, Journal Asiatique, 1904, IV, 331 ff.

²⁶ Sprenger, I, 38, 39, note 1.

There is no doubt that he is meant by our author as Jacob, called 'Amr the Witness, on account of his testimony to Muhammed's future prophecy. But I am unable to ascertain the identity of John, called 'He that was routed into the garden'.

²⁷ A similar theory we read in Barceloni's Commentary on Sefer Yeşirah (ed. Halberstam), 146, ll. 9 ff., about the Latin alphabet: וכשם שאתה מוצא אותיות הקדש עשויות בחכמה ועליהן אין להוסיף ומהן אין לגרוע ותמצא בהן כל חשבון כמו שפירשנו ואין האותיות משמשות בקולותיהן אלא תחלת הקול כגון מו האל"ף א' ומן הבי"ת ב"א ומן הגימ"ל ג"א וכן כולן וכשם שאתה מוצא כל האותיות הקדש בחכמה ועל הסדר כך אתה מוצא אותיות שברו אחרים מלבן כגון אותיות הטועים וזולתן שאין מחשבין בהן חשבון ועשו כ"ג אותיות מלבן שהוציאו משלנו ומשאר האותיות שמצאו ... ואתה מוצא אותיותיהן בכמה תהפוכות שפעמים משתמשין מן האות תחלת הקול א"ב וזולתן ופעמים משתמשין הקול בסוף האות ומניחין את הקול כנון שמשתמשין מ' מא"ם ול' מא"ל ונון מאי"ו ום' מאכ"ם וכמה מזולתן ועוד אתה מוצא שיש להן כ"ג אותיות י' מכאן (1, m, n) ו"ל מכאן ושלושה באמצע ואותו ג' באמצע הם אי"ל אי"ם אי"ו לפי שאותם שתיקנו להם האותיות לפי שידעו שאין בהם ממש כתבו באמצע האמת שלנו להודיע ולכחש השקר שטופלין בלי מדה וקורין אלוה למי שהיה אדם ולכך באו אותן והטילו אותן באמצע להכחיש כל טעותן

At fol. 2 a, r., ll. 7-8, there is an evident break in the fragment. The construction is loose. The writer began,28 'Had they done like', &c., but the sequence is missing. He then abruptly begins to berate the Jewish sectaries for their eclecticism, actually commencing in the middle of a sentence ('to separate themselves, &c.', להיבדל וכו'), fol. 2 a, r., ll. 8 ff.). It is very likely that the copyist was woolgathering. He began to repeat a sentence (ll. 7-8) from the preceding page. Discovering his mistake and trying to find the exact place, he overlooked in the original before him a whole passage, possibly a page.²⁹ What the missing part contained can only be surmised. Our author complained that the Christians acted worse than Samaritans and Muhammed's Jewish instructors, because they claimed to be the true Israel and ascribed divinity to Jesus. After having spoken of Samaritans, Christians, and Muslims, the writer began his polemics against the sectaries he had in mind, accusing them of severing themselves from the body of Israel by rejecting 'the statutes of the holy Torah' (i.e. Rabbinism) and hastily adopting dogmas of other religions.30

These are the author's charges. 'For they said, "We have concluded a covenant with the Mu'tazila ('the separatists', מובדלי,) of the children of Ishmael as regards the beginning of the month and other matters; with Edom (i. e. Christianity) we made a treaty concerning 'And ye

^{...} אין אם ווהו אם אל אין... והעידו האמת באלו השלש אותיות שאין לו אם ווהו אם אל אין... See on this whole passage Kaufmann, REJ., XVI. 146-8, and also Bacher, ibid., XVII, 280, note 4.

²⁸ Fol. 2, v., l. 12-fol. 2 a, r., l. 7.

²⁹ It should be noted that likewise a whole paragraph, fol 2, v., ll. 10-14, is anticipated from a following page, fol. 2 b, r., ll. 3-7.

³⁰ Fol. 2 a, r., ll. 8 ff.

count from the morrow of the Sabbath' (i. e. Pentecost always to be on a Sunday); the falsehood of the Kutim we have made our stronghold concerning 'Ye kindle no fire in all your dwellings'; and we hid ourselves in the lies of the Brahmans who say about God's commandments, both those that should be done and those that must not, that they are hidden in the hearts of the talkers till their time (of death) come."' ³¹ Our author continues to polemize against the last that the laws are 'not hidden in the recesses of the hearts nor in the innermost of the kidneys, but are to be kept and practised by mouth, heart, and all the five senses'. The next five lines are not clear to me. About the 'five senses' in Jewish literature, I need only refer to David Kaufmann's monograph, *Die Sinne*.

It is evident that our author accuses the Karaites of having adopted the fixing of the calendar by means of lunar observation and thereby following the Muhammedans. 'Anan is supposed to have done this in order to ingratiate himself with the Caliph.³³ In this respect the Karaites followed the Muhammedans in general and not only the Mu'tazila. The latter, however, were their example in other instances the character of which, however, our author unfortunately fails to mention. But it is highly interesting to find him alluding to the Mu'tazila doctrines as one of the sources of Karaism. As Harkavy writes,³⁴ 'Gradually the Karaite leaders abandoned their controversies relating to individual laws and details referring to cult, and turned

³¹ Fol. 2a, r., l. 13-v., l. 2. ³² Fol. 2a, v., ll. 14-16.

³³ Cp. Pinsker, Likkuie, נספחים, 95 and 103; Hebrew Graetz, III, 442. The early Karaite author of Fragment B (fol. 17, v., l. 1) writes: עתה אתם בתוך מלכות ישמעאל והם אוהבים לשומרי חודש ביריח ולמה תיראו מן רבנין...

³⁴ JE., VIII, 438, col. 1.

their attention to principles concerning dogma and the Mosaic Law in contradiction to Rabbinical oral law, visibly proceeding under the influence of the Islamic "kalām" and mu'tazila, especially the "uṣul al-fikh" of the Muhammedans.' Already Maimonides remarked that the Ḥaraite philosophical writers followed the Mu'tazilite kalām in their proofs of the existence of God and His unity.³⁵

Our author further accuses the Karaites, in the true fashion of a controversialist, of following Christianity in always fixing Pentecost to be on a Sunday. He omits the fact that the Sadducees, or Boethusians, were the originators of this practice. While the strict principle of allowing no fire or light of any kind on the Sabbath, as practised by the Samaritans and adopted by the rigoristic Karaites, is well known, most interesting is our author's attack on the allegoristic school of the Karaites. Harkavy (l. c., 438, col. 2) writes, 'In some Karaite circles of the ninth and tenth centuries there arose, perhaps under Gnostic influence, an antagonism to the ceremonial law and the dogma of traditional Judaism similar to the inimical attitude towards Jewish law found among the first Gnostic circles. This antagonism went so far, for instance, that the Sabbath and the feast days were regarded merely as memorial days during the existence of the Jewish state, their observance being no longer obligatory in the exile.' 36

מורה נבוכים מוער שתמצאהו מדברי ענין ,I, c. 71, מורה נבוכים אמנם זה המעם מוער שתמצאהו הענין לקצת הגאונים ואצל הקראים, הם ענינים הייחוד ומה שנתגלה מזה הענין לקחום מן המדברים מן הישמעאלים.

³⁶ Ķirķisani (ed. Harkavy, 312, 8) states that the Yudganiya held that the observance of the Sabbath and the festivals ceased in the present, and had only the character of a memorial. Some Ķaraites were of the same opinion. Cp. also Poznański, $R \not \in J$., L, 17 ff.

Evidently our writer has this section in mind when charging them with adopting the view that the laws need only be kept in spirit but not in practice. The radical Karaites would by this principle abrogate not only the Sabbath and the festivals but the Law as a whole. Our author accuses them to be the followers of the Brahmans (Barāhima) who negate the laws by absolutely rejecting prophecy. Sharastani (tr. Haarbrückner, II, 356) describes them, these sectaries maintained that the intellect pointed to the fact that the world had a wise Creator who would not oblige his creation to do anything discreditable. But the originators of the laws have ordained much degradation of the intellect, e.g. the turning towards a certain building during prayer (i.e. the Kiblah), the going round, the running and the throwing of stones, the putting on of pilgrim garments, the (prescribed) cries, the kissing of the dumb stone (i.e. the black stone of the Ka'bah), likewise the slaughtering of animals for sacrifice, the prohibition of what could serve man as food and the permission of what would injure his constitution, &c. All these things are against the dictates of the intellect. By extending this principle all law is negated. A section of the Barāhima were the people of 'thought and imagination'. To them belonged the Bakrantīnīya (ibid., p. 361) whose custom was to bind their body, from the waist to the breast, with iron in order that their body should not burst from the abundance of knowledge, the power of imagination, and the power of thought. Very likely our author refers to the latter by caustically remarking that the laws are 'not hidden in the recesses of the hearts nor in the innermost of the kidneys' but are to be kept outwardly and in reality. The radical wing of Karaism stood thus under the influence of the Barāhima.

as indicated in our fragment, rather than under the Gnosticism of the first centuries, C.E. Likewise the allegorical school of Karaites, a notable exponent of which we have in Benjamin al-Nahawendi,37 borrowed its equipment more probably from the Muhammedan sect of the Isma'īliyya than from the Alexandrian allegorists of the time of Philo. This sect arose about 755/6, but in 838 its adherents joined the extreme Shiites. There existed several grades of membership. In the fifth grade the doctrine was taught that the real internal meaning of the Kurān was much removed from the external meaning of the text, thus paving the way for an allegorical interpretation which destroyed the positive teaching of the laws. This was done in the sixth grade by extending the allegorization especially to the religious duties which became for the initiated pure symbolism.38 Similarly amongst the early Karaites, those that adopted the allegorical method of Bible interpretation were divided as regards the extent of following up the logical results of their theories. are, of course, interesting parallels with the Allegorists of Philo (De Migr. Abr. xvi) denounced the Alexandria. extremists who neglected the actual observance of the laws owing to the allegorical interpretation imparted to No less than Philo, Benjamin, indeed, held the practice of the Law as obligatory. But, just as in Philo's times, allegory when radically applied to the Bible would result in keeping the commandments as symbols only

 $^{^{37}}$ See particularly Poznański, $R \not E J$., l. c., 1 ff., and in *Studies in Jewish Liter. in honour of Kohler*, 237-59: 'Allegorische Gesetzesauslegung bei den älteren Karäern'.

³⁸ See August Müller, Der Islām im Morgen- u. Abendland, I, 558 ff. Cp. also Goldziher, Streitschrift des Gazāli gegen die Bātinijja-Sekte, 1915, 3 ff.

while abrogating them in practice. The extreme Karaites were probably stimulated by doctrines in vogue in the large Arab society without. Altogether Karaism stood greatly under the influence of the current schools and heterodoxies within Islām.

In general we see that all shades of Karaism are taken to task in our polemical work. The emphatic opposition to Christianity and, in a smaller degree, to Islām, is, perhaps, directed against the followers of Abū-'Isā. cording to Kirkisani, they acknowledged the prophecy of Iesus, the son of Mary, and that of Muhammed, contending that each of these two was sent to his own people. The Dasturians (i.e. the sectaries living in Tustar, modern Shuster, in Persia) also admitted the relative truth of Christianity and Islām. If Ibn Hazm's tradition be correct, the followers of Abū-'Isā even maintained 'that Jesus was a human being created by God in the womb of Mary without a male'.39 Hence the allusions in our fragment to Jesus' origin.40 Likewise Kirkisani's refutation of these two religions serves simply as an appendix to his polemics against Abū-'Isā's teachings.41 The name of the author of our fragment cannot even be surmised. Let us hope that further Genizah finds will supply the missing beginning and conclusion of this very interesting work.

³⁹ See the passages cited by Friedländer, JQR., N. S., III, 240-43.

⁴⁰ Fol. 2, r., ll. 15-18; 2 c, r., ll. 16-17.

⁴¹ See Friedländer, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, XXVI, 96. In this connexion reference is made to several specific attacks on Christian exegesis to be found in Barceloni's Yeşirah Commentary (ed. Halberstam), pp. 13, ll. 19 fl.; 75, ll. 12 fl.; 76, bottom; 146, ll. 9 fl.; 175, ll. 29 fl. See also Bacher, RÉJ., XVII, 279-80.

[Dots over letters, except when indicating abbreviations or vowels, denote that the reading is doubtful. The Bible quotations are overlined by me.]

Α

(fol. 2, recto)

על ידי ישעיהו בן אמוץ הנביא ועתה

יי אלהים שלחני ורוחו: "1 וכי על כן קראו

לישו בן פנדרא אבא וברא ורוחא דקודשא "1

כאשר מצוי בכל בני יש וזה אחד מהם "1

ז או שמע אליהם וקמו עליו כל יש ועשו
בו ובחבריו אתו המעשה כאשר כתוב
בתורה. "1 ואילו האנשים אינם ככותים
השמרונים כי הכותיים באו בעל כרחם
מפני האריות הממיתים אתם "1 ואלו הנצרים
מפני האריות הממיתים אתם "1 ואלו הנצרים
תועיהם באמור להם כי אתם בני יש ה "1

תועיהם ולכם נתנה התורה החדשה
ולב חדש וברית חדש ושמים חדשים

"1 ולב חדש וברית חדש ושמים חדשים

⁴² Isa. 48, 16.

⁴³ See also Hadassi, אשכל הכפר (98th Alph., ed. Bacher, JQR., VIII, 432): ואמרו כי הוא אב ובן ורוח הקדש והאב הוא כולל עיקר האלהות ולבואת ודברו הוא הבן ולבש בשר כדרך בני האדם ורוח הקדש היא חכמתו ונבואת ודברו הוא הבן ולבש בשר כדרך בני האדם ורוח הקדש היא חכמתו ונבואת. See letter '. Cp. further the extract from Yefet b. 'Ali's Commentary on Obadya (printed by Margoliouth, Yefet's Daniel Commentary, VII, note 1).

⁴⁴ This line means perhaps that the 'holy spirit' is to be found in every Jew, and he (Jesus) is one of them.

⁴⁶ Deut. 13. 7 ff. 46 2 Kings 17. 25 ff.

ישׁ האל = ישׁראל; is the first letter of the next word; it is placed here in order to fill up the line; likewise is the case with several lines farther on.

⁴⁸ The 5, marked with dots above and beneath, is to be deleted.

15 ולא תעלנה על לב 4º ווה הוא משיח בן דוד בן בת דוד אביו שבשמים שמהו אבנא אתגזרת מטורא דלא בידיין ומחת לצלמא והות לטור רב ומלת[א] לארעא 5º

(verso)

ולא חרה לי עד מות אלא על אחינו מורינו הסרבים הסלונים 51 הננטים בנחלה אשר הנחיל אֹהינו 52 וקראנו עמו וצאן ידו וחלקו חבל נחלתו 53 ודבר על ידי עבדיו הנביאים כי לא יחליפם 54 זלא ימיר אתנו טוב ברע או רע בטוב ולא 5 ישוב לשחת ולא לכלה ולא לשנות כל כי אני יי לא שניתי ואתם בני יעקב לא כליתם 55 לא דיים חרפת הגויים השאננים אויבינו אשר אהינו קצף מעט עלינו והמה עזרו 10 לרעה 56 עזרום בלא בצע כסף כי אם לבגוד בנו ולדבר עלינו רעה: ועל יי אהינו תועה 57 ואילו עשו כאשר עשו לנו אויבינו אשר העלם אסר חדון מכותה 58 וכאשר עשו הבאים א אחריהם עם הרועה צאן בַפּקום הירוע בהר חדש 59 והיה מעשהו עם הנזיר אשר היה 15 במקום הנקרא בלקין 60 על העמוד הנודע אות השמש עם 61 העשרה הזקנים אברהם הנקרא כעב

אל אחבאר ואבשלום הנקרא עבד אללה בן סלאם

⁴⁹ Cp. Ezek. 11. 19, 18. 31, 36. 26; Jer. 31. 31; Isa. 65. 17.

⁵⁰ Cp. Dan. 2. 34, 35; for [א] read ומלאת read ומלחן.

⁵¹ Cp. Ezek. 2. 6.

⁵³ Cp. Ps. 95. 6, Deut. 32. 9. ⁵⁴ Read יחליפנו.

⁵⁵ Mal. 3. 6. ⁵⁶ Cp. Zech. 1. 15.

⁵⁷ Cp. Isa. 32. 6.

⁵⁸ Cp. 2 Kings 17. 24, Ezra 4. 2.

⁵⁹ Probably Mount Hirā is meant here.

⁶⁰ The province of Balkā (Moabitis).
61 Read perhaps מעם
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L

(fol. 2a, recto)

ויעקב הנק עמר אלשהיר ויוחנן הנקרא אל מנהום אלי אל ננה וחביריהם אישי 62 בשמו וכינויו אשר באו אליו ועשו לו או[ת] הקלון 63 וכתבו והרכיבו שמותם כל אחד ואחד וכן כתוב בחף גץ הבתה ⁴ ככה יעצו חכמי יש לאלם הרשע 5 הַפַּרַה וכל זאת כי היתה סבה לבעבור להציל עם יי למעז לא יזיקם בעלילותיו וכֹאשׁר עשׁוֹ הבאים אחריהם עם הרועה צאן 55 להיבדל מבחירי אל ואמונתם תורת אלהינו ולסור 10 מא[מ]רי אל ומחוקות התורה הקדושה בָּ בחפוותם וטעותם וכסלותם ותעותם וההבל אשר הלכו בו אחרי רוחם ואחרי מחשבותם ומוחם ויהבלוי והלכו אחור ונכשלוי66 כי אמרו כרתנו ברית את מובדלי בני ישמעאל בראשית הירח ודברים אחרים: ועם אדום עשינו חווה וג על וספרתם לכם ממחרת השבת 67 כי שמנו כזב הכותים עלי לא תבערו אש בכל מש וג' מחסינו' ובשקרי ברהמאנים נסתרנו' האומרים טלי מצות יי אשר תטשינה ולאשר לא תעשינה

⁶² איש probably stands here for 'משו 'and their companions, every one by name and surname'.

is a play upon the word Kurān, used by mediaeval Jewish writers. Yefet b. 'Ali to Isa. 47. 9 calls the Kurān ללונס; likewise Jacob b. Reuben to Zech. 6. 7 (cp. Steinschneider, Polemische u. apolog. Literatur der Juden, 316). The renegade Samuel b. Yaḥyā al-Magribi states that the prophet has two names among the Jews, שלון, while the Kurān they call יולון (see Schreiner, Monatsschrift, XLII, 253).

⁶⁴ The Cow, the second Sura; for a detailed analysis see Noeldeke's Geschichte des Qorāns, 2nd ed., 1909, I, 173 ff.

⁶⁵ The dots indicate that the words are to be deleted.

⁶⁶ Isa. 28. 15. 67 Lev. 23. 15.

⁶⁸ Exod. 35. 3.

(verso)

כי המה בלבות הממללים טמונים עד עת בא עתם: ולא אמרו כי יי אלהינו המעלה אתנו מארץ מצרים 69 במסות באותות ובמופתים ובמלחמה וביד חזקה ובזרוע נטויה ובמוראים 70 גדולים אשר לא נבראו בכל הארץ ובכל הגויים 5 השמיענו את הוד קולו מתוך ענני כבודו , את ונתן לנו תורתו מורשה תורת אמת חקים ומ ומשפטים צדיקים חקוקים על לוחות האבן כתובים באצבע אלהים לשום לנו שם גדולות וו ונוראות: 17 ולתתנו עליונים על כל הגוים אשר תשב לתהלה ולשם ולתפארת ועם קרוש כאשר דבר 27 ללמוד וללמד כל העמים חק ומשפט לנסותם באותותיה ומופתיה לדטת את אשר בלבבם הישמרו מצותיו אם לאו: 73 ולא ממונים במצפוני הלבבות ולא בקרבי הכליות כי אם לשמור ולעשות בפה ובלב וכל ההרגשות החמשה ואחרית הארבעה הנדמים לארבעה המריחים בארבעה הנפרטים לעשרה ונחשבים בעשרה והם דומים לעשרה על שומעי העשרה הנחשב

(fol. 2b, recto)

מאצבעות עשרה חסף טינא ומן קרניא עשר קרן זעירא ¹⁷ לשום לנו שם גדולות זנוראות

⁶⁹ Cp. Jer. 2. 6. ⁷⁰ Deut. 4. 34; Exod. 34. 10.

⁷¹ Cp. Isa. 30. 30; Deut. 4. 8; Exod. 31. 18; 1 Chron. 17. 21.

⁷² Cp. Deut. 26. 19; for תשב read עשה.

⁷⁵ Cp. Deut. 8. 2. Lines 10-14, from לאו to אל, recur on next page; the marks on these two words denote that the whole passage is out. of place here.

⁷⁴ Cp. Dan. 2. 41-3, 7. 7, 8.

ולתתנו עליונים על כל הגוים אשר תשב לתהלה ולשם ולתפארת ועם קדוש כאשר 5 דבר ללמוד וללמד כל העמים חק ומשפט לנסותם באותותיה ומופתיה לדעת את אשר בלבבם הישמרו מצותיו אם לא כי כל ל קדושיהם בידינו והם תכו לרגלינו ישאו מדברות תורה צוה לנו משה מורשה קהלת וס יעקב י זה לא נח ולא קהלת אברהם ולא קהלת יצחק כי אם קהלת יעקב להוציא שאר בני שאר בני ⁷⁶ נח ושאר בני אברהם ככ ולבני הפיל הפילגשים אשר לאברהם נתן אברהם מתנות וישלחם מעל יצחק בנו זי ולהוציא את שאר בני יצחק ככ קום לד פדנה ארם 78 ואל שדי י יברד או[תר] ויתן את בר[כת] אברהם לך ולא לאחיך ו[ל]ורעך אתך ולא לזרע אחיך ואיזו היא ברכת אברהם הנתונה ליעקב ולזרעו ולא לאחרים

20 גר יהיה זרעך בארץ לא להם ועבדום וענו אתם

(verso)

עמם: זו היא שנאמר לאברהם ידוע תדע כי

לחודיענו כי הזרע הגר המשעבד המעונה
הוא הזרע [ה]מובחר הרָצוי היורש את
הארץ כלו מורש[ה] ולעתיד יחזקו בו ירושה
ומורשה ונחלה: ולהוציא את ישמעאל ואחיו
בני הפילנשים: ועל אשר נאמר לו תחלה
כי ביצחק יקרא לך זרעי 80 ולהוציא את עשו

⁷⁵ Cp. Deut. 33. 3, 4.

⁷⁶ These two words are repeated in the manuscript.

⁷⁷ Gen. 25. 6.

⁷⁸ Gen. 28, 2.

⁷⁹ Gen. 15. 13.

⁸⁰ Gen. 21. 12.

ואלופיו שלא יבואו תחת כי ביצחק יקרא לך

זרע ¹⁸ ונשאר יעקב [וו]רעו לבדם לאהינוי
וגם היא הנחלה שנא בה על ידי ישעיה הנביא

זל צׁ לבֹ אוֹ תתענג על יי והרכבתיך על במתי
ארץ והאנחלתיך נחלת יעקב אביך כי פי יי דבר ⁵⁸
אשר הנחילו אהינו מאבותיו יצחק ואב ⁵⁸ נחלה היא
לו לבדו מורשה קהלת יעקב הנקרא שמו יעקב
וישראל מטרם ירות אבן פנה ארץ ⁵⁸ כב שמע
אני אחרון אף [ידי] יסדה אר[ץ] וימ[יני] מפ[ח]ה
אני אחרון אף [ידי] יסדה אר[ץ] וימ[יני] מפ[ח]ה
שמים קורא אנ[י] אליהם יע[מ]ד[ו ית]דו הקבצו
כלכם ושמעו מי בהם הניד א[ת] אלה יי אָהָבוֹ
יעשה חפצו בב[בל] וורועו כשדים ' אני אני דברתי
יעשה חפצו בב[בל] וורועו כשדים ' אני אני דברתי

(fol. 2c, recto)

הם המה המנופצים בכל העמים בעבור אשר המה ממלאכת 60 כהנים לכל העמים · הנושאים טענתם לעולמים [ו]גם המה המקובצים מכל העמים ככ והפיצך יי

⁵¹ Cp. Ned. 31 a: שאיני נהנה לזרע אברהם אסור בישראל ומותר באומות ביצחק אסור ביצחק יקרא לן זרע כתיב, והאיכא עשו ? ביצחק העולם · והאיכא ישמעאל ? כי ביצחק יקרא לך זרע כתיב, והאיכא ישמעאל . ולא כל יצחק.

⁸² Isa. 58. 14; for והאנחלתיך read והנחלתין. ⁸³ = **13.**

⁸⁴ Cp. Job 38. 6; read אבן פנת ארץ. For the idea of the name of Jacob-Israel to have existed before the creation, see Gen. R. c. I: ששה דברים קרמו לבריית העולם יש מהן שנבראו, ויש מהן שעלה במחשבה להבראות: התורה והכסא הכבוד נבראו... האבות וישראל ובית המקדש.

⁸⁵ Isa. 48. 12-16.

⁸⁶ Read ממלכת.

בכל העמים' ושב וקבצך מכל העמים

אשר הפיצך יי אהיך שמהי '' וכאשר בא
והאמן "" הניפוץ כך יבוא וי[א]מן הקיבוץ
ולא יאחר' ולא זכרו השוטים עניי
הדעת כי גם המה יעידו על נפשם וכל
לאומים ועם ולשון יעידו כי מעולם
לעין לא נראת שמ[ו] " ו[גם] בשאר ארצות הגוים
ממזרח ועד מערב בלתי בארץ פל[שתי]ם
לבדה' וגם בני אדום ו[ע]שו ושעיר
הנקראים נדודים " עשו ג[ם] המה בשטותם
הנקראים נדודים " עשו ג[ם] המה בשטותם
אחרי אלהי הנכר הנולד לו ב[ו] מאשת[ו] היהודיה
המנאפת תחת[יו] י[שו] החרש עצים " אש[ר]
הרגוהו מקצה [ותלו אותו ע]ל [ע]ץ נבוה
ותלול בין שני גנב]ים " ג[ם] י שקייתו

(verso)

סיד בחומץ 3º ואלוה לא יציל את נפשו 4º מיד מבקשי רעתו יועיל לאחרים זולתו

⁸⁷ Deut. 30. 3.

⁸⁸ Read והאמין.

⁸⁹ Cp. Micah 6. 9. The allusion is here evidently to Jesus.

⁹⁰ The meaning of this word is not clear to me.

⁹¹ Mark 6. 3, 'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?' According to Matt. 13. 55 Jesus' father was a carpenter, for the people said, 'Is not this the carpenter's son, is not his mother called Mary?' Here [""] must be read, as to him refer the next words, 'whom they have killed', &c. Accordingly our author follows Mark's account.

⁹² Mark 15. 27; Matt. 27. 38, 44.

⁹³ Only Matthew (27. 34) mentions that 'they gave him [vinegar] to drink mixed with gall', but see Mark 15. 23. None of the Jewish texts printed by Krauss, Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen (1902), mention this detail of 'chalk in vinegar'.

94 Isa. 44. 20.

ועל [ה]שנות עונותם כי כל יום יוסיפו עדות על אלוהיהם כי הוא במעי אם מתואר 5 בבמותם משוח בששר ומחופה מצופה בזהב ובכסף חקוק מחוקה 90 על כל קורות טירותם עם כל צלמי מסכותם יום הולדו ואמו מניקתו ואומנתו עד יום תפיסתו והרעתו ותליַתוֹ ואחרי כן ידברו עליו 10 דברים אשר לא כ[ן] ולא היו מעולם אחרי שהוציאוהו מכלל החיים שמוהו [וא]מרו עליו כי הוא מחיה מתים' ואשר התעום [ה]ט[וע]ים מקרב התורה באו במ במרמתם [כי] אמרו להם בתורה מצאוי מל בני יש בנים אתם ליי אחיכם 96 וכתוב אח[ר] אומ בנ[י ב]כורי ישׁ 97 וישו בן פנדרא [א]חד מבני יש [הנקראים] בנים וכל בן יש לו אב וא[ם].... לי שמים ורוחותם של יש א דברה הנבואה

Translation.

... through Isaiah b. Amoz, the prophet, 'And now the Lord God hath sent me and His spirit.' Therefore was Jesus b. Pandēra called 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' since it (i.e. the Holy Spirit) is found among all the children of Israel and he (i.e. Jesus) is one of them.

Thereupon he listened to them. And all the Jews arose against him and did to him and his companions the act as prescribed in the Torah.

These men are unlike the Kutim, the Samaritans, because the Kutim joined (Judaism) unvoluntarily owing

⁹⁵ Cp. Ezek. 23. 14. 96 Deut. 14. 1. 97 Exod. 4. 22.

to the lions that killed them. But these Nazarenes came with the purpose of attaching themselves to the inheritance of God (i.e. to become Jews) but their leaders ('misleaders') misled them by saying unto them, Ye are the new children of Israel and unto you hath been given the new Torah, a new heart, a new covenant, new heavens and earth. The former ones will not be remembered nor come into mind. This one (Jesus) is Messiah b. David, the son of David's daughter, His father in heaven created him: a stone was supernaturally ('without hands') cut out from the mount which smote the image ('cross'), became a great mountain and filled the earth.

I am greatly incensed against none but our brethren, our teachers, rebellious and (like) pricking briers, who encroach upon the inheritance which our God gave us. He called us His people and the sheep of His hand, His portion, the share of His inheritance. Through His servants, the prophets, He declared that He will neither change nor exchange us, good for bad or bad for good, and that He will not continue to destroy, consume and alter us, as it is written, 'For I the Lord have not changed, and ye, children of Jacob, are not consumed'.

Not satisfied with the reproach of the arrogant nations, our enemies, who gratuitously aided with evil purpose when our God was a little angry with us, they (i. e. these people) also play the traitor, and speak evil about us and perversity about the Lord our God. Had they only acted as did to us our enemies whom Esar-ḥaddon brought up from Cuta (i.e. the Samaritans), and as those who succeeded them did with the shepherd (i.e. Muhammed) in the well-known place on New Mount. His (Muhammed's) dealings were with the monk who lived in the place called

Balkin (the Balkā), (and) on the pillar, known as the 'Sign of Heaven', (he dealt) with the ten elders, Abraham, called K'ab al Aḥbār; Absalom, called 'Abdallāh b. Salām; Jacob, called 'Amr the Witness'; John, called 'He that has been routed into the garden', and their companions, every one by name and surname. These came to him (Muhammed) and composed for him the 'Sign of Disgrace' (i. e. the Kurān), each of them inserting (therein) his name. So it is written The Cow (i. e. Sura II). In this manner did the Scholars of Israel counsel to ALM, the wicked, (?, or 'in order to silence the wicked'). All this was in order to save the people of God that he (Muhammed?) harm them not by his devices.

(But the former acted as they did) to separate themselves from the chosen ones of God and their faith, the law of our God, and to depart from God's words and from the statutes of the holy Torah in their haste, error, folly and perversity. (This they did) owing to the vanity which they followed in the dictate of their inclination, thoughts, and design. They thus became vain, retrogressed, and stumbled. For they said, We have concluded a covenant with the separatists (i.e. the Mut'azila) of the children of Ishma'el as regards the beginning of the month and other matters, with Edom (i.e. the Christians) we made a treaty about 'And ye count unto you from the morrow of the Sabbath'; for we made our trust the falsehood of the Kutim concerning 'Ye kindle no fire in all your dwellings'; and we hid ourselves in the lies of the Brahmans who say about God's commandments, (both) those that should be done and those that must not, that they are hidden in the hearts of the talkers till their time (of death) come.

They (i.e. these people) did not say that (it is) the

Lord, our God, who brought us up from the land of Egypt with trials, signs, miracles, warfare, a mighty hand, an outstretched arm, and great terrors which were not created in the whole world and among all nations. From the midst of His glorious clouds He made us hear His majestic voice and gave us as a possession His Torah, a law of truth (and) righteous statutes and judgements, engraved on tablets of stone that were written with God's finger, in order to bestow upon us a great and tremendous name. They (i.e. the laws of the Torah) are not hidden in the recesses of the hearts nor in the innermost of the kidneys but are to be kept and practised by mouth, heart, all the five senses, and the other four that are compared to the four senses of smell, with four that are sub-divided into ten and are reckoned as ten, and they are like the ten senses of hearing (? literally 'upon the hearers of the ten') that are counted (? literally 'that is reckoned') from the ten fingers of 'earthenware clay' and from the ten horns (in connexion with) the 'Small Horn'.

(God gave us the Torah) to bestow upon us a great and tremendous name and make us superior to all the nations He had created in praise, name, glory, and a holy nation, as He has spoken, in order to learn (ourselves) and teach all the peoples statute and judgement, to test them by its (the Torah's) signs and miracles in order to know what is in their heart, whether they will keep His commandments or not. For all their (i.e. the nations'?) holy ones are in our hands and they sat down at our feet. They receive from the sayings of the Torah which Moses commanded us, an inheritance of the congregation of Jacob. Not Noah, nor the congregation of Abraham, nor the congregation of Isaac but the congregation of Jacob,

to exclude the rest of Noah's children and the rest of Abraham's children (Gen. 25, 6); and (also) to exclude the rest of Isaac's children, as it is written, 'Arise, go to Padan Aram, and God Almighty will bless thee and give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee,' but not to thy brother, 'and to thy seed with thee', but not to thy brother's seed. Which is Abraham's blessing that has been given to Jacob and his seed but not to others with them? It is what has been said to Abraham, 'know thou that thy seed will be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and they shall serve them and afflict them', informing us that the alien, oppressed and afflicted seed is (also) the chosen and favoured seed that takes possession of the whole land (of Palestine) as an inheritance. It (also) excludes Ishma'el and his brethren, the sons of the concubines. And as for what has been said to him (Abraham) at first 'For in Isaac shall thy seed be called', it (Gen. 15. 13) excludes Esau and his dukes that they should not come under 'For in Isaac shall thy seed be called '. (Thus) Jacob and his seed alone remained for our God. This is also the inheritance which has been announced through Isaiah the prophet (the memory of a righteous person be for a blessing), 'Then thou shalt have delight in the Lord, and I shall make thee ride on the high places of the earth, and I shall make thee inherit the possession of Jacob thy father, for God's mouth has spoken'. (The inheritance), which our God made him (Jacob) possess from his fathers Isaac and Abraham, is an inheritance to him alone, a possession of the congregation of Jacob whose name was called by the names Jacob and Israel before the cornerstone of the earth was cast, as it is written in Isa. 48. 12-16. These very (people i.e. Israel) are scattered among all the nations

because they are a kingdom of priests for all the nations; they carry their burden for ever and they too are (to be) gathered from all the nations, as it is written in Deut. 30. 3. And just as He came and verified the dispersion ('the scattering') so will He come and verify the redemption ('the collecting') and will not tarry.

CORRIGENDA IN VOL. XI.

P. 418, line 4. For Joseph read Joshiah.

P. 459, line 4. For J'D read 'DJ.

P. 463, note 30. For וכנה read וכנה.

P. 471, line 18. For שמים read שמים.